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AN APPEAL FROM PETROGRAD

To the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors in
England, France, Italy, America, Swe-
den, Finland, Esthonia, and Siberia—
A proclamation of the Newly Elected
Soviet in Petrograd.

Comrades:—In troubled times, we, the
workers of the city of Petrograd, have
held the regular elections for our Soviet.
The elections were held at a time when
the armies of your governments were
threatening our city and when we were
suffering unheard of hunger as a result
of the blockade imposed upon us by your
governments. Nevertheless, the workers
of Petrograd have remained at their
posts, hundreds of thousands of them,
taking part in the elections of our Soviet.
Today this newly elected Soviet has con-
vened for the first time. Thousands of
representatives of the workers, the Red
Army, the sailors, the day laborers and
the workers' organisations are partici-
pating in our assembly.

And with one accord, we direct this
message to you: We shall continue to
support the Soviet system, the dominion
of the workers and peasants. To the last
breath we shall fight for triumph of So-
cialism against the bourgeoisie.

In this solemn hour we turn to you
with this question: Why have the govern-
ments of your countries undertaken a
campaign against our city, why are they
bringing disorder into our city, why are

they shooting down our fathers and
brothers, why are they forcing us to
starve? All the reports of a reign of
terror in Petrograd sent out into the
world by the bought press of the bour-
geoisie are impudent lies. We are suffer-
ing from hunger, we are breaking down
at our work in the shops, yet in our ranks
proletarian discipline and perfect order
reigns. We are defending ourselves
against our enemies, they are attacking
us on all sides, and yet step by step, we
are creating the proletarian state. In the
eyes of your bourgeoisie, we are at fault
because we were the first to raise the red
flag, the first to do away with the Czar
and the bourgeoisie, because for two
years we have been holding power in our
hands, and because we have given fields
to the peasants and the factories to the
workers.

Your governments hate us because we
have made public the secret treaties
which your governments made with the
Czar. Your governments hate our city
because it was the first to hoist the flag
of the proletarian revolution.

We are appealing particularly to the
workers and soldiers of Esthonia and Fin-
land. For two years you have been de-
ceived. You were told that we wish to
conquer Esthonia and Finland. This is
untrue! At the meeting of the Central
Executive Committee of the All-Russian
Soviets, our representative, Comrade
Zinoviev, announced in the name of the
whole Soviet government, openly and
clearly, that our armies received official

orders under no circumstances to cross
the boundaries of Finland and Esthonia.
The Central Executive Committee is the
highest executive body in all Russia. A
decree issued by that body is absolutely
official. Comrades:—We are convinced
that for you, too, the hour is approach-
ing when you will free yourselves from
oppression by the bourgeoisie. The gov-
ernments of your countries are doing
their best to destroy themselves. Yet we
do not wish to fight you. It is your gov-
ernments that are provoking war.

Comrades:—How long are you going
to allow your governments to supply the
parasites and hangmen with arms, money,
officers, and food? In the Murman dis-
trict, English, French, Italian, and Ser-
bian troops are fighting us. At Narva
the Swedish slaughter divisions are op-
posing us. Along the whole Esthonian
and Finnish boundary the government
troops of those countries have been and
are fighting against us. Your governments
are sending spies and agents to Petro-
grad. These rascals are causing explo-
sions in Petrograd, are throwing out
stacks of gold in order to recruit rebels
and traitors among the Russians. The
butchers government of Finland is send-
ing airships to bombard our villages and
stations.

For all that, we do not give up and
never shall. We are convinced, Com-
rades, that in your countries too, the Red
Flag will triumph. We live under the
conviction that the workers of France,
England, America, Italy, and the other

countries will not allow their bankers
and landowners to use them as the gen-
darmes and hangmen of the workers' re-
volution.

Your governments say that they do not
wish to interfere in the internal affairs
of Russia. But this is an impudent lie.
Your governments have recognised as the
legal ruler of all Russia, the miserable
slave and murderer, Admiral Koltchak,
against whom the workers and peasants
of Siberia and the Urals are now revolt-
ing.

Your governments are throwing out bil-
lions to help the Czarist generals to re-es-
tablish the Monarchy. Your govern-
ments are supplying the counter revolu-
tionists in Russia with all necessities from
tanks to spies. Your governments have
helped slaughter thousands of workers in
Yakutsk and Kharkov, only because
they were workers. Your governments
are responsible for the atrocities of the
slaves who, before they evacuated Perm,
burned several thousand imprisoned Red
Guardists. Your governments are respon-
sible for the famine in our land.

Arise in revolt, Comrades, put an end
to the crimes of your governments. Ex-
tend the hand of brotherhood to the
workers in the other countries. Do every-
thing in your power to withdraw support
from the counter-revolutionaries in
Russia.

We send you our fraternal greetings
and cry out together with you, "LONG
LIVE THE REVOLUTION OF THE
WORKERS IN ALL LANDS!"

The Communist International.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ITALY BECOMES DEFINITELY COMMUNIST.

The Socialist Party of Italy was re-elec-
tory during the war. This spring the
Party affiliated with the Communist In-
ternational. The revolutionary conquest
of the Party was completed at its Con-
vention in Bologna last week, where the
Socialist Party of Italy organised, de-
finitely as a Communist party. There
were 48,000 votes cast for the Maximalist
programme, uncompromisingly Commu-
nist; 14,000 votes for affirmation of the
programme of 1892; and 3,000 votes cast
for the "Abstentionist" programme,
which urges complete abstention from
participation in the elections.

The Maximalist programme, which is
now the programme of the Party, is as
follows:

The history of society up to the pre-
sent time has been a history of class war.
When productive energies come into con-
flict with the interests of property and
production and their social and political
organs a phase of social revolution results
by the passage of political power from
one class to the other. Modern bourgeois
society, arising from the ruins of feudal-
ism, has not abolished class conflict, it
has merely created new classes, other op-
pressive conditions and a new form of
struggle replacing the old. During our
own epoch society tends more and more
to divide into two classes which oppose
one another; the bourgeoisie and the pro-
letariat. At the same time that the bour-
geois revolution brought these classes in-

to contrast, they set up political rule by
representative democracy, in which econ-
omic disparity is superimposed on the
formal liberty and political equality of
citizens of all classes in the constitution
of the elective organs of the State. In
spite of the numerical supremacy of the
proletariat over that of the bourgeoisie,
the democratic state still remains the or-
gan of the interests administering the af-
fairs of the bourgeois classes.

All classes and political struggles tend
towards the transformation of the basis
of production. The aim of Communists
is the international organisation of the
proletariat into a political class govern-
ment, the destruction of bourgeois power,
the conquest of political power by the
proletariat. The specific instrument of
this action is the Communist Party.

This party, as the struggle must evolve
within the limits of bourgeois rule, under-
takes propaganda, proselytism, the criti-
cism of capitalist rule and political op-
position to the ruling classes; in this wise
we can justify, as a temporary measure,
participation in electoral and parliamen-
tary struggles.

When the revolutionary phase of the
historical struggle between the proletar-
iat and the bourgeoisie is initiated, the
task of the proletarian political party is
the violent crushing of the rule of the
bourgeoisie and the organisation of the

proletariat as the dominant class. From
this moment it becomes incompatible to
send deputies of the party to the repre-
sentative organs of the bourgeois rule, in
which the proletariat is the oppressed
class, and in the same manner to those or-
gans in which the property holding class-
es participate. During the great war
which precipitated the definite crisis of
the bourgeois, and which made it impos-
sible for them to regulate the intimate
contrasts of the world of production, the
outbreak of the Russian Social Revolu-
tion marked the revolutionary period in
which the proletariat rose successively to
power in various countries. By the vio-
lent conquest of state powers and there-
fore the Communist Parties must direct
their tactics towards this realisation. The
class political party maintains intimate
collaboration with the working syndicates
(unions) co-ordinating and directing the
action of the political struggle for the
emancipation of the proletariat. They
constitute the provision of temporary or-
gans of the working classes destined to
prepare for and to organise measures for
the crushing of bourgeois rule, and to as-
suming power in the early phase of the re-
volution.

When the proletariat shall have suc-
ceeded in their struggle against the bour-
geoisie, it provides temporary Commit-
tees to be immediately set up ready to as-
sume local and centralised executive
functions, the elections of local councils
of workers must be inaugurated indepen-
dently of the professional categories to
which they belong, and divided into town
and country constituencies. Both active
and passive electoral rights will be re-
served to the workers alone of both sexes
independently of sex and nationality,
only excluding those who live by exploit-
ing the labor of others. In this way the
foundations of proletarian dictatorship

are laid. A Congress of local Councils
will be convoked which will elect the
Central Council, and this will assume ex-
ecutive functions by means of appro-
priate organs.

Any delegate can be recalled at any
time by the will of the electorate. This
system constitutes the proletarian State,
an organ for the dominion of the work-
ing classes over the bourgeoisie and for
its expropriation.

To prevent attempts at counter-revolu-
tion by the capitalist class and so as to
overcome the resistance that they will op-
pose to expropriation, the proletariat
must be armed by forming a class militia.

So soon as the Socialist State be formed
it will form unlimited political and eco-
nomic solidarity with any other Com-
munist Republics in the world, and will
aid the Communist movement in those
countries still dominated by the bour-
geoisie with all the means at its disposal.

The task of the proletarian Govern-
ment is to take over gradually from the
bourgeoisie all capital so as to centralise
all the instruments of production into
State ownership, that is among the pro-
letariat itself organised as a ruling class,
so as to increase the volume of the pro-
ductive energies as rapidly as possible.

The subsequent measures of socialisa-
tion and expropriation will be co-ordinat-
ed to the economical and social condi-
tions, and to the necessity for paralysing
production to the least possible degree
during the process of transformation
from private to communistic ownership.

The first measures will be: the social-

Continued on page 4.

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Christmas.

By MARCIA.
—:—

Twelve months more have dropped into the past, and once again we are close to that season of rejoicing (?) known as Christmas.

Members of the working class usually see its approach with very little enthusiasm and some with apprehension. To the majority Christmas means a little more worry on account of extra expense incurred in its attempted celebration; and above all, the loss of ten days' pay. While to those whose bread-winners have been unemployed, and who know that their enforced idleness will have to continue for some weeks longer, the season is regarded with dread of starvation and a possibility of being ejected from the miserable shelter they are forced to call home.

But this year, we should see a difference. This time of "Peace and Goodwill," will be the first since the Peace Treaty was signed, and the "world made safe for democracy."

After the flower of the world's manhood has been flung ruthlessly into the human slaughterhouse, after families have been torn asunder, thousands of women widowed, thousands of children orphaned, and mankind in general ravished by disease and misery, the master class tells you with all seriousness that the war is won by the Allies, and that freedom and democracy are ensured for ever.

Let us swiftly travel in spirit over the countries of the world and see what this "freedom of democracy" is like.

We will begin with England. Industrial unrest is rife, food is scarce, and prices are high; women who were working in munition factories during the war, are thrown on the scrap-heap of unemployment now that they have served their turn, and are tramping in bands through the country, begging their way as they go. If there isn't a policeman handy, they are free to starve.

In France much the same conditions prevail; the country is torn with disruption.

In Italy they are on the verge of a revolution.

In Russia they are in the throes of a revolution.

In Germany conditions are terrible.

INTERNATIONAL

News and Notes.

LENIN'S MESSAGE TO THE WEST.

The following message from Lenin, published in "La Populaire," gives the lie to the statement that he no longer looked for an international revolution:—"We at Moscow can, relying on our own resources, face all the difficulties of restoring order in Russia. We do not fear counter-revolution, nor Yudenitch, nor Kolchak, nor Denikin, but this only on condition that the blockade is stopped, and that your Governments cease to assist those who are attacking us in money, munitions, tanks, guns, machine guns. If the French and English workers cannot prevent that, we shall be beaten."

KOLTCHAK OUTLAWED.

The Council of People's Commissaries has published the following decisions to be applied in the districts abandoned by Kolchak:—

1. Kolchak, the ex-Admiral of the Imperial Government, who proclaims himself "Supreme Ruler," and has under him a "Council of Ministers," is proclaimed an enemy of the people and is hereby outlawed.

2. All proclamations or laws, all decrees or privileges (orders) emanating from Kolchak or from his delegated officials are annulled.

3. All deeds of sale or purchase, contracts, treaties or concessions granted by

Starvation and famine are ruling the land in all their hideous tyranny. In the Peace Treaty, at the insistence of that democrat (?) President Wilson, the Germans are compelled to deliver 140,000 milch cows to the victors.

The milk supply is at present one-fifth of normal. It is estimated that at least 600,000 more babies will be condemned to death by this reduction.

Already we have it on good authority that there are scores of thousands of children in Germany who have never tasted milk, so it is quite easy to see what this inhuman demand will lead to.

And the "world has been made safe for democracy."

And what of Australia?

Lack of housing, lack of food, strikes and unemployment are the order of the day. Conditions have never been worse, and in all these countries thousands of men who fought this war of liberty (?) are walking about in vain attempts to get sufficient to keep body and soul together.

So that we find at Xmas, 1919, in spite of peace treaties and victory, the world is seething with misery and discontent.

The workers, driven to desperation by the pressure of economic conditions, are seeking a way out; and it is for all those individuals who are truly class conscious to spare no pains or leave no stone unturned to propagate the doctrines of scientific socialism.

Of all countries in the world, only Russia can claim to have taken the decisive step towards emancipation. The proletariat there have seized political power, and it now only remains for them to hold and exercise what they have taken.

Although unfortunately our Russian comrades will not be able to celebrate a peaceful Christmas owing to their foes inside and outside, still, they have their freedom the revolution is accomplished.

It is our task then to teach our comrades of the rest of the world to do likewise. Nothing less than a revolution will keep them; nothing less than the destruction of capitalism will avail.

When the workers realise this they will leave off fighting for palliatives and better conditions. All their energies will be concentrated towards organising for revolution, and then and not till then, when the world belongs to the world's workers will we understand and appreciate the true significance of that much misused phrase, "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men."

Kolchak, his ministers or delegated officials, are annulled.

4. Similarly are declared null and void all treaties, agreements, concessions or contracts concluded between Kolchak and the Governments of Foreign Powers desirous of enriching themselves at the expense of the Russian people.

5. The rights of the various peoples are unaffected; land and property pass into the hands of the community.

6. Notes issued by the Soviet Government resume their currency at the same rate as prevails in Eastern Russia.

7. The various people of Siberia may exercise the same right of self-determination and may conduct their internal and external affairs as freely as the Ukrainians, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the inhabitants of White Russia, the Tatars, the Bashkirs, the Kalmaeks, and other peoples of Russia have done.

KALININ (Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee).
ULIANOV [LENIN] (President of the Council of People's Commissaries).

WHOM THE SOVIET OPPRESSES.

It is the Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, which has first brought about a democracy for the masses, for those who toil, for the workers and small peasants. There has never yet been in the history of the world such exercise of State power by the majority of the population as under the Soviets. This power suppresses the "liberty" of the exploiters and their aiders and abettors. It deprives them of the "liberty" to exploit.—Lenin.

AMERICA'S YOUNG SOCIALISTS.

The Young People's Socialist League, in session in New York, has severed its connection from the Socialist Party, and will henceforth work independently. This action was taken because affiliation with any of the factions in the Socialist movement in America would hinder the league in its work, according to a resolution. The aims and purposes of the league are "the organisation and education of the proletarian youth, based on the lines of the class struggle for the abolition of the Capitalistic state and the establishment of the industrial commonwealth through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The last phrase, "dictatorship of the proletariat," was introduced at the behest of a Communist Party delegate—"C.S. Monitor."

SOVIET PROGRAMME UNCHANGED.

[In a wireless interview given to Edward Bing, of the United Free Press, on the understanding that his answers would be published without mutilation in the leading newspapers, Lenin makes the following remarks on the Soviet programme.]

Question—Has the Soviet programme undergone reforms or changes since the establishment of your Government?

Answer—The Soviet Government did not have a reformist governmental programme, but a revolutionary one. Reforms have a reformist governmental programme are secured from the dominating class while the latter's domination continues; consequently, a reformist programme consists generally of many points of detail.

Our revolutionary programme consisted, generally speaking, of one point—overthrow of the landowners' and capitalists' yoke, wresting the power from them and liberating the working masses from their exploiters.

This programme we have never altered. Separately, various measures aiming at the realisation of our programme have often been subject to alterations, enumeration of which would occupy a volume.

I will point out only one point on our governmental programme regarding which there were probably the greatest number of alterations; namely, crushing the resistance of exploiters following the revolution of July, 1917.

INDORSED BY 1,000,000,000 PEOPLE.

Question—What is the real character of the activities which the Russian Soviet Government is carrying on in Afghanistan?

Profiteering

By J.M.G.

Profiteering is a fruitful theme of discussion just now. The newspapers by day have something to say about why and wherefore of the high cost of commodities. It is being discussed in spheres and circles of society, by all and conditions of individuals. And now are the weird theories of the cause and drastic are the cures proposed.

Others are more bloodthirsty, and instead of denying themselves any of the luxuries and necessities of civilisation want to chop off a few heads and make the lamp-posts by hanging the profiteers upon them as a warning to the profiteers left behind.

These bloodthirsty ravings of skilled constitutionalists is no more the evil, and coming from a paper has branded international Socialists, extremists, who want to bring about bloody revolution, is rather more and shows these ravings, after rational methods but parrot phrases, without the most elementary knowledge of the basic structure of modern capitalism. This ignorance leading to advocate mob law and anarchy, would be put down by the armed forces of the State.

The Source of the Evil.

The three essentials of our present system of industrial capitalism are Rent, Profit, and Interest. While the system will continue. They are incentive that prompt the speculator to build jerry houses for the purpose of extracting rent from those who occupy them. Interest is the loan that urges the financial and banking corporations to lend money or give credit. They are in that business not as philanthropists but as money-lenders, to get the greatest amount of interest possible from their clients.

The industrial capitalists invest in not to give a few hundred or a few thousand and workers employment. Their guiding motive is to reap a rich harvest in form of surplus values, profits from labor-power of those they employ. Workers when thus employed receive money wage that on the average is back food, shelter and clothing; a subsistence that is a small proportion of the amount produced. That they get subsistence by which they are able to live and reproduce other workers in their place when they are scrapped is a mere incident, a necessary incident in the process of the production of commodities which the capitalists not avoid if they wish. But the guiding principle to the capitalist class are profits. Profits are their god, and the working class a necessary evil that has to be tolerated but cannot be eliminated.

Limitation of Robbery, or Abolition?

Recognising that Rent, Interest, Profit are essential to our present capitalist society, it is futile to prate of the limitation of such, and a treacherous act on part of individuals of so-called labor parties to advocate a legitimate rent, interest or profit; as who can define what is a legitimate award to the robber class? have their stranglehold upon society legally holding within their grasp.

tan and India, as well as other Mohammedan countries?

Answer—These activities are those of ours among the non-Russian peoples within Russia. We made it possible for a lower people to create their autonomous republic within Russia.

We help all independent free development of every nationality to increase and spread, for which we offer the most heroic resistance toward the brigands and capitalists of Japan and the United States.

Our further political aims are to promote knowledge regarding our own Soviet Constitution, which has the misfortune to please more than a billion inhabitants of the earth belonging to the colonial, subjected and oppressed rightless nationalities more than do Western European or American Constitutions of the bourgeoisie "democratic" states, which try to strengthen the yoke of the few "civilised" capitalistic countries over the hundreds of millions of masses in Asiatic and African colonies.

land and machinery of production, and have the right of ownership conferred upon them by the laws that govern society, and have the political machinery in the form of soldiers' bayonets and policemen's clubs to enforce their legal claim and deal with any attempt on the part of a mob to destroy their property, or curtail their legal rights to get all they can out of our present system of greed and grab.

We International Socialists have been dubbed extremists by the so-called constitutionalists who go off at a tangent and shed their constitutional veneer when some incident occurs that is beyond their comprehension. We plead guilty to their charge of being extremists and have a method that is based upon the laws of sociology, methods that ignore nothing, mob law, chopping off heads and strung up profiteers.

From Slavery to Socialism.

We recognise the historical evolutionary process in human society. There has been a phase of society based upon slavery, a necessary step in the evolutionary process, when it became obsolete and failed to perform its functions. It gave place to Feudalism based upon militarism and agriculture. Crude and brutal as Feudalism was it was necessary to the evolutionary process, and evolved out of the chaos commonly called the dark ages. Feudalism, having performed its function, gave place to capitalism, which had within it the germ of the incalculable potentialities of industry. Coordinating and socialising the labor process, opening up the world markets, it has "given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country." It has solved the problem of production and has now reached a point in time when it is hampering the logical development of the social forces to which it gave birth. And just as capitalism had to destroy Feudalism to liberate the expansion of production from the trammels that were then restricting its growth, so it is the historic role of Socialism to destroy Capitalism and liberate the productive forces for the class who have control of those forces, a control that gives to a minority the legal right to say to the majority, whether they shall have access to the land that should be the birthright of all, and to the productive forces that are socially produced and used for the production of luxuries and necessities of the community as a whole.

Recognising the evolutionary process, and that capitalistic society has evolved to the extent of performing its mission, a revolution is necessary that will harmonize the antagonism between private ownership in land and tools and social production. This revolution may be more or less violent. We have no reason to believe that even if the revolution is accomplished by the most constitutional means, such as capturing the parliamentary machine and decreeing the socialisation of the land and the tools of production, that the possessing class would tamely submit. Human lives to this class have been and are but factors in the game, and they would struggle to preserve their existence as top dog by every means within their power. We have an object lesson in Russia to-day of the measures they will adopt, from lies to the most improved instruments for taking human lives.

The sooner these surface skimmers realise the futility of their efforts to amend our present phase of society, the better for themselves and for those they are misleading. "You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear." No more can you reform a system of greed and grab into a system of equity and justice.—"The International."

PAMPHLETS YOU SHOULD READ.

- Economic Warfare. By W. R. Winspear. 6d, posted 7d.
- How Capitalism has Hypnotised Society. By T. Brown, 2d, posted 3d.
- What Means this Strike. De Leon, 3d.
- Socialism the Goal of Civilization. Chas. Vall, 2d, posted 3d.
- Towards Human Freedom. J. R. Wilson, 1d, posted 2d.
- Wage, Labor and Capital. Marx, 3d, posted 4d.

CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS.

WHOLESALE RATES ON APPLICATION TO THE MANAGER.

"Marx--the Infallible Prophet"

Today when things are in a state of flux, when we are in the throes of an economic crisis, which in turn infers the presence of a "revolutionary situation"

it tempts all thinking persons in the advanced proletarian movement to cast aside every vestige of dogmatism and creed prejudice, to face the teachings of modern events, and conform to new facts by discarding exploded fallacies.

The Russian revolution is the popular flame of all working class organisations, even the orthodox labor party have gone Bolshevik, and each man claims to be the national copy of the prototype.

The A.S.P. are not blind in their claims, and hardly need any more evidence to Russian the proletarian who follows.

Some comrades of the A.S.P., who rigidly and dogmatically enshrine themselves behind the infallible works of Marx, and compromise at times to put aside the faculty of reason in the attempt to make modern events square with Marx—it is for you to answer.

In the Russian Revolution a proletarian revolution, or rather conquest, seems that he has jumped the stages of capitalist development, i.e., the highly centralized form of modern industry, from semi-feudalism to embryonic capitalism.

It is a long and perilous march with such prophecies from Marx, as: "The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future" or this: "It can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development."

These two quotations will suffice; they fully illustrate my point, but they could be supported by others from Marx on the same lines.

I fully realise the value of the works of Marx, and any attempt, on my part, to belittle them would be foolish. But, comrades, we must at least conform to the law of Economic Determinism enunciated by Marx, and allow our mental machinery to be acted upon by existing economic conditions, not to push modern lessons aside simply because Marx, 60 odd years ago, indulged in a few prophetic utterances.

I am fully aware that, because I dare to question, however mildly, the authority of Marx, I shall be condemned as a heretic, and undoubtedly a heresy hunt will be inaugurated by Socialist comrades who ostentatiously seek for truth, but only accept the truths that are in full accord with Marx. The inexorable Law of Change is ever in operation, and just as it is a biological truth that the fittest physically survive, so also is it a truth that in the realm of psychology we must change with changing conditions, must modify and adapt ourselves to the forces operating to-day, and not tie ourselves to "dead authorities," who simply record impressions which were the result of the sum total of their experiences. Recent events have supplied us with a history, when, to say the least, Marx did not possess.

I accept the Bible as a sample of the crude ideas of our dim lighted forebears. I accept "Capital" (pardon the comparison) as a marvellous exposition and analysis of the capitalist system, but I reject the prophecies of both.

The revolutionary movement must deal with hard solid facts, and therefore must reject prophecies, ancient or modern.

We have recently seen the effects of clinging to "dead authorities." We have seen the attitude of the Hyndmans, the Kautsky's and the rest of the Marxian dogmatists. We saw the attitude of the German Independent Socialists, who, when the light raged furiously for four days (vide Manchester "Guardian" History) between the forces of reaction and the revolutionary section, the Spartacusians, they, the Independent Socialists—the A.S.P. of Germany—held aloof and solemnly quoted Marx to justify their attitude, and thus allowed the reactionaries to obtain (pro temp) "Political Power."

I draw certain conclusions from my reading, practical experiences, etc., another person holds an entirely different

opinion, derived by the same process. He or I may be right, possibly both may be wrong, but one thing is certain, we cannot controvert the ideas of either, by quoting passages from the works of a person, who having died years ago, did not possess the experiences of either of us. I dread the blue pencil, so will close.

J. RAWSTRONG.

In Reply

In answer to Comrade Rawstrong's question as to whether the Russian Revolution is a proletarian revolution, we must state the facts as they are, i.e., the bourgeois revolution of March, 1917, followed by the conquest of political power by the proletarians, and a Dictatorship thereby established. And, judging by the information that has come to hand since, we have every reason to believe that a sincere endeavor is being made to transform private property into socially owned and controlled property. This process of transformation is still going on, and, if completed, will constitute a proletarian revolution.

We deny the bald statement that Russia jumped the stages of capitalist development, for whilst Russia was backward in this respect, owing to the fact that it was an agrarian country, capitalism had developed there to a great extent, not only in regards to industrial concerns, but also bourgeois in relationship to land holdings.

On the basis of the assertion that Russia has jumped the stages of capitalist development, Comrade Rawstrong asks: "if we can square it with Marx." Comrade Rawstrong evidently overlooked the fact that we have developed out of what might be called the village state of society, when an individual's outlook was determined by what went on in the village. Today we have gone even further than the boundary of the nation, and any one country is effected, not only by the development within, but also by the development of the outside world.

Our comrade has endeavored to twist a fact into a prophecy. Had he read a few extra lines, he may have quoted the whole sense and not part. The quotation, as it should have been given, is as follows:—

"One nation can and should learn from others. And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement—and it is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic laws of motion of modern society—it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs."

(Preface "Capital," I P. 14, Kerr Ed., P. XIX, Eng. Ed., Black ours.)

A little higher up our comrade would have read:—"In England the process of social disintegration is palpable. When it has reached a certain point, it must react on the Continent."

So we see, in the light of a fuller reading, that it is quite likely that the present state of affairs in Russia, is the result, to a large extent, of the development without. The economic development of Russia is, according to reports, proceeding apace, under the directions of experts who are controlled by the Dictatorship.

We can not do better than let Marx answer himself, and to do so, we will quote from the joint preface to the second Russian edition of the "Communist Manifesto":—

"Let us now look at Russia. At the time of the revolution of 1848-1849 the monarchs of Europe, like the European bourgeoisie, saw in Russian intervention their sole means of protection against the proletariat, at that time just awakening to a consciousness of its strength. They placed the Czar at the head of European reaction. To-day he is a prisoner of the Revolution at Gatchina, and Russia is in the front rank of the revolutionary movement of Europe."

"The burden of the Communist Manifesto was a declaration of the inevitable disappearance of existing bourgeois property. But in Russia, along with the capitalistic system which is developing

Notice!

OWING TO HOLIDAYS AND PARTY CONFERENCE, IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO DROP THE ISSUE OF THE 20th, AND BRING OUT AN EARLY EDITION FOR THE 27th, (THIS ISSUE), AGAIN MISSING THE ISSUE FOR THE 3rd OF JANUARY, 1919.

THE FIRST ISSUE FOR THE NEW YEAR WILL BE ON JANUARY 10th.

SKY-PILOTS NOT WANTED.

What the American people need now is good "earthly guides who know the difference between a safe trial and emptiness lined with absurd hope"; they need now "to come back to earth and her laws, to men and their natures, to traffic and its necessities," said Lawrence Y. Sherman, United States Senator from Illinois, discussing "The Labor Unions and the Government," before the New York Traffic Club, at a recent meeting in New York City.

The class war of the proletariat continually broadens, in these times of rising or sinking prices, in times of growing prosperity as well as in those of growing need, since it proceeds from class antagonism produced by capitalistic society under all circumstances. But the forms of the class war are one thing during times of industrial movement and another during economic stagnation. The former permit the organization of the proletariat to strengthen its feeling of power, but blunt the spar of class antagonism and weaken revolutionary conclusion to the overthrow of the whole capitalistic system and the state which protects it. The period of stagnation or increasing misery sharpens the spur of class antagonism, and strengthens the revolutionary conclusion of the proletariat in proportion as the conditions are more unbearable. Such times tend steadily to profound disturbances of the existing state and organization of society. From these the proletariat may derive great advantage; it may, by means of them, be able the earlier to deprive the existing classes of new positions of power in the state, the more the preceding periods of prosperity make it capable of increasing its means of power and class consciousness.—Kautsky.

The belief in Gods and demi-gods, in Moses and the Prophets, the belief in the Pope, in the Bible, in the Kaiser, in his Bismark and his government; in short, all belief in authorities, finds its definite and final reply in the science of mind. As long as we have not discovered how and where wisdom arises, we are easily exposed to the danger of being bamboozled. The clear knowledge of how thoughts are being produced puts us on a coin of vantage which makes us independent of God, books and men. In dissolving the dualism of mind and matter, the theory of the scientific method of thinking destroys the last pillar which supports a society divided into rulers and ruled, into oppressors and oppressed.—Dietzgen.

landed property of the bourgeoisie in with feverish haste, and of the large course of formation more than half the land is the property of the peasantry. The question is therefore, whether the Russian peasant commune, that already degenerate form of primitive communal property in land, will pass directly into the superior form of communistic ownership of the land, or whether it must rather first follow the same process of dissolution that it has undergone in the same historical development of the West?

"The only possible way to reply to that question to-day is as follows: If the Russian revolution is the signal for a worker's revolution in the West, and if both should be successful, then the existing communal property of Russia may serve as the starting point for a communist development."

"London, 21st January, 1882."

We fully realise that there are many who would quote anything to justify their attitude, just the same as Marx is quoted by those who understand his works least, but we can guarantee that if they did quote Marx as THEY desire him to be quoted, the falseness of their interpretations can easily be pointed out. On the other hand there are many who make vague statement about "dead authorities" without making any attempt to prove where the authorities are wrong.—Ray Everitt.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Continued from Front Page

isation of financial capital and the suppression of the State debt, excluding small capitalists; the socialisation of houses, means of transport, larger industrial and agricultural property. Special measures must be instituted affording inducements for small proprietors to come into the communistic organisation voluntarily.

We maintain that such a process as this is the sole method of concrete realisation of equality and human liberty, which predicates the disappearance of exploitation between man and man. The proletarian State will make use of all its repressive activities against individual or organised collectivities who endeavor to obstruct the realisation of the communist programme, not feeling justified in delaying the rapid evolution of social revolution by sacrificing it to the abstract and formal conception of liberty.

Together with the socialisation of the various economical divisions they will cease to be a private affair of either individuals or groups of individuals so as to become the collective function of associated humanity.

The means and the measures of production and transport and the due disposition of products will be ordered by competent internationally affiliated organisms.

When expropriation of all capital is finally effected, the bourgeoisie will gradually be absorbed, and will cease to exist as a separate class.

Public executive power will then lose its political character, as there will no longer be two classes, one dominated and the other dominating.

Little by little the sad inheritance of degeneration which characterises capitalist rule will be eliminated, and in the place of the old society divided into classes conflicting one with the other, an association will be instituted in which the free development of each individual will constitute the necessary condition for the free development of society in general.—"The Communist."

Party Picnic.

The annual Party Picnic will be held on Boxing Day, at NATIONAL PARK. All members and supporters are invited to attend. All local comrades will be catching the train that leaves Central Station NEAREST to 8 a.m.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS.

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

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A.S.P. NEWS AND NOTES

SYDNEY BRANCH.

A most successful meeting was held on the Domain, Sunday, Dec. 14.

Comrade Morris occupied the chair, and Comrades Clifton, Mrs. Reardon, Thomas and Reardon were the speakers. The large crowd listened intently to the speakers all the afternoon, and the meeting was prolonged later even than usual.

Paper sales boomed as usual, and the literature department was brisker than ever.

The hall at night was the scene of a debate between Mr. W. J. Miles and Com. W. J. Thomas, on the subject, "Is Nationalism Desirable for Australia?" Mr. Miles, of course, affirmed.

The hall was crowded, and the audience were certainly interested. Both speaker are fluent and capable platform men, and were in excellent form on Sunday. However, as space is limited and both debaters' attitude on the question under discussion are well known, I will not give a detailed account of the debate.

The musical lectures are in full force. The Branch has decided to run a series of Gilbert and Sullivan's operas, starting on Wednesday night with the "Mikado." Comrade Reardon is officiating as lecturer, and the gems of the opera are being reproduced on the "Salonola."

The concert in aid of the miners' children at Broken Hill was held on Monday, December 15th, and we have realised a good contribution to the fund.

The Friday night meeting at Darlinghurst is going well. We have added another recruit to our list of speakers in the person of Com. Blake, who bids fair to be an asset in that direction.

MARCIA REARDON,
Assistant Secretary.

UNITY.

The following letter was forwarded to the S.L.P.:

November 27th, 1919.

Gen. Sec., S.L.P.

Dear Comrade,—Your letter of the 24th inst. was read up at our last executive meeting, after which I was instructed to forward you the following motion:

"That in the opinion of this executive, the executive of the S.L.P. has had ample time in which to arrive at some decision regarding the question of Unity; consequently unless we receive a definite answer before Dec. 6, Unity negotiations will be considered off."

Yours fraternally,

A. S. REARDON,
Hon. Gen. Sec.-Treas.

In reply we received the following:—

December 4th, 1919.

The General Secretary,

Australian Socialist Party,

Dear Comrade,—Your letter of the 27th ultimo was laid before the General Executive of our Party, and I have been instructed to inform you—as I informed you in my last letter—that when the information is available it will be forwarded to you.

Yours fraternally,

E. E. JUDD,
General Secretary.

The S.L.P. executive came to a decision some weeks back, but have not had the courage to inform us of that decision. The decision that they arrived at was to the effect that they instruct their members to turn Unity down. May be the reason why this executive endeavors to keep the matter dark is because their decision has not been welcomed by their membership. At any rate, in accordance with the resolution sent to the S.L.P., Unity negotiations are off, and it is now up to the S.L.P. rank and file to move (and we think they will); otherwise it would be a logical act on their part to alter their name to the Judd Publishing Co.

"THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST."

Does the "I.S." suit you? Do you think it is doing good work. Do you wish to see the good work continue. If so, show your appreciation and assist by getting subscribers.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN INDUSTRY.

In their re-valuation of the standard obtaining in the industrial process, the parliamentarians and the press have not been slow to seize upon one of the fundamental indictments of the present system lodged by the revolutionary Socialists throughout the world. They have seized upon the expression COMMODITY STATUS OF LABOR, and have bravely announced their new discovery, and with a deal of gaseousness as to their good intentions towards labor, have proposed schemes, which, when analysed, mean nothing more than an increased rate of exploitation.

The outstanding feature of this new position adopted by the hitherto arrogant captains of industry is that firstly, they have been forced to do so, and, secondly, once having accepted this demand of the revolutionary proletariat, with admirable cunning, and no little erudition, they proceed to turn it into a weapon to use against the working class as a whole.

The use by the master class of the expression 'commodity status of labor,' does not, however, carry with it the acceptance of the basic economic principles from which it is deduced. Far from it. The admission by the present ruling class of those principles would constitute an act of abdication. The master class at no time admits more than the prevailing conditions force it to do. And to the fullest possible extent, it endeavours to turn its own use whatever must be admitted. The gift horse of the master class must ever be looked in the mouth.

"PRODUCE MORE!" cry the puppets of master class, "and we most magnanimously will allow you to have a voice in the control of industry. We believe that you are entitled to have such a voice, and that your labor should not be sold in the market as a commodity." Whereat the misleaders of labor tell the workers how much they have gained for them. But it must be clearly understood that such an admission carries nothing of a tangible nature with it. On the contrary, it is not intended that it should. A voice in the control merely means the subjection of the workers in any large industrial plant to a new form of managerial tyranny, to a more systematic scheme of overseeing and spying, and finally to a stifling of the normal action of dissatisfied workers—telling the boss to go plumb to hell. These results might well be general were Whitley councils to become widely instituted. In these ways does the master class intend to put into operation the "principle" that human labor should not be bartered in the same way as a ton of potatoes.

Finally, let it be stated that "the economic law of motion," which Marx has laid bare for us, will not permit the capitalist class to acknowledge in practice that the active element in production, human labor-power, shall be treated in any other way than it has been treated, since the system became an established fact. The god of capitalism is the golden god of PROFIT, and cares not how many its victims, nor how tender their flesh.—A.T.B.

SACKED—WITH GRATITUDE.

By way of setting a good example to the thrifless working-class, the Imperial Government has decided that economy in administration must be practiced. Writing to the First Lord of the Admiralty the Right Honorable David Lloyd George said: "We are driven to economise ruthlessly," and requested the First Lord to explain to the loyal men and women who have rendered such great services to the country that if their services are now dispensed with it does not mean any lack of gratitude on the part of the Empire for what they have accomplished. Nevertheless, they are sacked, and being proletarians, are potential "Bolsheviks."

The Danger of the Whitley Scheme.

AN ECONOMIC QUESTION.

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HEADQUARTERS:

115 GOULBURN ST., SYDNEY, N.S.W.
A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec.-Treas.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any Branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this Office.

—:0:—

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.
All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.
Every Sunday morning: Lectures.
Every Sunday night, 7.30: Lectures.
Study course of Scientific Socialism: Every Thursday night, 7.30.
Public Speaker Class.
Good Library for Members.

—:0:—

COBURG BRANCH.

75 Saunders St., Coburg.
Business Meeting, 1st Wednesday in each month.
Economic Class, every Sunday, at 10.45 a.m.
Lecture and discussion, every Wednesday, at 8 p.m.
Classes and Meetings held 72 Saunders St.
John F. Hart, Hon. Sec.

—:0:—

CORRIMAL.

Rebels on the South Coast, come along and link up with a scientific working-class organization. A welcome awaits you.
Meetings every back Sunday, 2 p.m.
E. R. BROWNE, Secretary.
Railway Street, Corrimal.

—:0:—

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

47 Victoria St., Melbourne.
Library and Reading Room for members.
Lectures held every Sunday evening.
Dance every Saturday Evening. Gents 1/-, Ladies 6d, plus tax.
Economic Class every Thursday Evening at 7.30 p.m.

—:0:—

NEWCASTLE BRANCH.

Trades Hall, Newcastle.
Business meeting every alternative Monday night at 7.30. Lecture and discussion from 8.30 to 10.30.

J. MURPHY, Hon. Sec.

—:0:—

SCARBOROUGH BRANCH.

Meets every pay Sunday.
Economic Class morning, propaganda meeting afternoon.
Live wires of the movement always welcome.

C. S. KIRK, Secretary.

P.O., Scarborough.

—:0:—

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: Liverpool Street, near Pitt Street (next door to Fay's Boot Store).
Lecture every Sunday and Wednesday evening.
Dance every Saturday.
Library for Members.

MARCIA REARDON,
Hon. Secretary.

THIRROUL BRANCH.

P. France, Secretary, Phillips St., Thirroul.
Branch meets every Pay Sunday.

Funds Wanted.

The Party having decided to put a number of Organisers in the field, requires the financial assistance of ALL Branches, Members and Supporters.

Funds are wanted right NOW, and all Donations should be sent to the General Secretary, A. S. P., 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

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